



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Advocate of Peace

VOL. LXXXI

MARCH, 1919

NUMBER 3

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

Edited by ARTHUR DEERRIN CALL

Assist. Editor, GEO. P. MORRIS

Published since 1834 by

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

(1815-1828)

Suite 612-614 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

(Cable Address, "Ampax, Washington")

PUBLISHED MONTHLY, EXCEPT SEPTEMBER

Sent free to all members of the American Peace Society. Separate Subscription Price, \$1.00 a year. Single copies, ten cents each.

Entered as Second-Class Matter, June 1, 1911, at the Post-Office at Washington, D. C., under the act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized August 10, 1918.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE text of the tentative draft of the constitution of the League of Nations, which apparently is to be an integral part of the treaty of peace with Germany, is to be found in this issue, and along with it the formal communiques given to the public during February by the various organs or agencies of the conference.

From the latter only a meager notion can be gained of the actual work done by the commissioners and by the advisers and experts at the service of the various national delegations. Their formal reports on special and profoundly important phases of the combined military, political, and economic problem faced by the conference will be ready for final action by the conference sitting in a plenary session when President Wilson and Premier Lloyd-George return from their enforced absence, grappling with imperative domestic duties, and when the French national leader, Clemenceau, after a brief convalescence, following the wounding by an assassin, is once more able to speak out and contend for the French Republic and for her real or fancied special claims on the Allies and the United States, claims, be it said in passing, that have not made easier the task of the conference.

During the absence of these outstanding personalities from the sessions of the supreme council and from those informal but useful consultations that invariably shape formal action, neither the Russian, German, Italian, Jugo-Slav, nor Chino-Japanese "situations" have been

"composed" in a way to facilitate a swifter or surer decision by the conference on important details of the yearned-for peace. Friction between Great Britain and France over a set of Near East problems and between Great Britain and the United States on one hand and France on the other hand, arising from distinct divergence of views as to dealing with Germany, has not been lacking. Moreover, the future of the Far East is wrapt up in adjustment of present strife between China and Japan at the council board. Hence it is fortunate that the masterful men of the conference have found it possible to return to Paris. They, at least, can order action, at a time when further drift is perilous. So grave, indeed, is the situation that some veteran onlookers in Europe fear that the day is past when any conventional, traditionally formulated, politically defined, and militarily supported treaty of peace and future government of the world can satisfy the "peoples" who are in the saddle and who are riding hard and swift for a fall—or a revolutionary victory of unprecedented significance and scope.

Naturally, conditions such as these have not created, either in Europe or in the United States, that ideal condition of the "international mind," that proneness to wise judgment best calculated to shape the public opinion of the free nations whose peoples were definitely asked to analyze and to comment upon the draft of the League as charted. For it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the draft is only tentative and was so declared when made public. Hence it is not to be deplored that there should have been honest criticism and sincere purpose in framing proposed amendments, and this not only by the public men of the United States, but also by those of France, Japan, and Great Britain. Far better to have candid avowal of dissent or professed intention of opposition at this stage of the proceedings. It gives time for confident defence of the main structure of the constitution, which, as a matter of fact, few have ventured to assail. It enables the commissioners to adopt any worthy suggestions which may come from the criticism and also makes it possible to embody the same in the final draft. Finally, and not least, it summons peoples to weigh the criticisms in the light of the personal characters and past political records of the critics, in order that judgment may be passed upon the secret motives as well as nominal reasons which in

the cases of some men inspire the assault. We shall not be surprised if, ere the great debate on this issue closes, there are disclosures in this field that will profoundly influence the future of parties and of men in high places, and put beyond peradventure the success of the League.

Certain it is that be the outcome of the conference in Paris what it may, and unstable as the tenure of the pre-war type of European civilization seems to be now, the United States is in for a controversy between Isolationists and Expansionists, Traditionalists and Progressives, Nationalists and Internationalists, which is going to cause radical realignment of political factions and parties and influential persons, and profoundly affect the coming contest for the Presidency, as also the future course of American life. The wisest leaders of both the historic parties see the unfortunate phases and sure consequences of the trend, already apparent, to make ratification or non-ratification of the League's covenant and constitution an issue of partisanship. They deprecate the willingness of not a few public men at the present time to fan into flame smoldering race hatreds and ancient feuds, if thereby the compact being framed at Paris can be wrecked. They burn with shame as they note the bold, bald relegation of the claims of humanity to a secondary place, as some leaders of the masses prate of "America first and all the time," and urge upon the country a policy of "scuttle" from Europe, while at the same time urging collection from her of the last cent she owes. But whether the wise men of the older parties will be able to control the situation remains to be seen. It is a time of easy disintegration in morale and morals, of fears and hysteria, of facile transfer from liberalism to radicalism on the one hand and obscurantism on the other hand. Some men go to one extreme and some to the other. Others are a sort of political hybrid, with a medieval international mind and a modern conscience and will. Their altruism has geographical limits.

The position of the American Peace Society and of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE as between a narrow, static, chauvinistic conception of nationalism and a sensible interpretation and functioning of internationalism was defined long ago. On the immediate issue now before the world, namely, support of the constitution of the League of Nations essentially as it came from the conference, the President of the Society authoritatively says (page 72):

"It is a pronouncement for law as against force. It is a revolution and it will never go backwards. The millions who pay and suffer and die in war will never again consent to the methods of the thousands who benefit through war. The thousands will not give up at once or without a struggle. They will try to defeat the Great League of Nations idea. Rank, pay, and opportunity are too profitable to be surrendered without a vigorous protest.

But if they stand in the way of righteous development they will be swept into oblivion by such a tidal wave of indignation as the world has never seen. The League of Nations not only puts a formal end to the war against Germany, but it assures a suffering world that many other wars that would have come never will come."

JURISTS OF WORLD UNITED

PARIS since December has been the place of assembly for more jurists, historians, and practical shapers of the laws of nations than previously ever met for conference, professional camaraderie, and profoundly important formal action. Europe, Asia, and the Americas have provided most of the sharers in this unusual privilege and opportunity, and they have been men of highest eminence, most of them busy in an advisory if not an administrative and legislative capacity, in connection with the proceedings of the conference. Others, however, have been mere lookers-on, students of an historic and epoch-marking talk-fest and process of super-state building, but equally eager to contribute their share to the further organization of the world and to elevation of *Law* to its rightful place in the intercourse of nations.

Therefore it has been quite natural for this group of specialists to set about organizing a union of jurists, drawn from all the continents and from many lands, which shall exist for the purpose of aiding the League of Nations after it comes into existence, as well as all other organizations, old or new, which approach the Union for counsel. Especially will it be the aim of this new organization to further the codification of international law, to make easier the administration and workings of the League of Nations by counsel when sought; and, in short, to assist society at large to live internationally according to "the progressive aspirations and universal conscience of mankind."

Membership in this new organization is to be limited, both as to the number of members and their national affiliations. Thus, nations without the League are not to be represented. Nations within the League also will differ somewhat as to their status and ratio of representation, according as they were neutral or active during the war. But, barring these limits, the new society will be representative of the best judicial opinion of the world. The American delegation is to be headed by Hon. Elihu Root. South America will have men as eminent as Senor Drago of Argentina and Ruy Barbosa of Brazil, and Europe will be worthily represented by men of the caliber of de Wiart of Belgium and Larnaude of France.

Surprising will it be if from the prolonged and to an extent enforced intimacies of the Paris Conference, there do not come into being not only innumerable personal friendships but also formal affiliations of a professional